The bow and arrow. At this time the fiancé goes outside and invites his kinsmen to enter. The latter bring a bow and arrow. As soon as they arrive on the threshold, the one who leads them starts a song: "Mushe inama yandi, taibula mwine, walasa..." They all enter. The fiancé stands in the middle of the house drawing the bow and arrow; he is supposed to pierce a special mbusa which the women have fixed on the wall slightly above the place where his future wife is sitting. If he pierces the mbusa, there are shouts of joy: Here is a true fiancé, the girl will be his wife," etc. If he misses, the poor boy is subjected to an avalanche of scolding and cursing: "Chimbi chikesa" (There will be trouble in this household). In this case the fiancé has to submit to tests in order to show them his lack of success with the bow was due to bad luck. 881 [787]

Mwansa chembe (headdress of feathers). If the young man has succeeded in piercing the mbusa, the women take up another mbusa of clay which is set with plumes [ngala]. They use them to make a headgear for the fiancé while singing: "Wamumona Mwansa chembe, mulume wa ngala aisa...". This is to tell him that if he makes his wife suffer, so will he. 881 292

Chinungi (porcupine). The headgear is taken off and a mbusa which is a facsimile of a porcupine is brought up. This spiny mbusa is then attached to the fiancé's neck by means of a cord. The fiancé has to bend down while the women sing: "Chinungi, posa matamba, twairiwa ku isano." Then they take it off [kukobola]. 881 301

Nsensengwe. This is the fruit of a river tree which causes itching. The women knead this fruit and then rub it on the fiancée's arm with a little brush. From this moment on she ceases to be a young girl and becomes a woman (mukalamba). 884 824

Chitenge. This is a crossbeam attached to the roof inside the house. The fiancé is suspended from it and while he remains thus suspended [alapelela] the women sing: "Lelo, atema pa chitenge," etc. He jumps down when the song is finished. 881

Mipeto (hoop). The women then make a circle around the fiancé with hoops. The fiancé takes some of the hoops and lets them roll towards his [217] fiancée. The women sing: "Mulangire alole..." The

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224 All these rites, as well as the common charms for luck in hunting, show the intense emotional interest of the Bemba in this traditional activity, and their alternating sense of hope and fear in the pursuit.

Most types of hunting are non-specialist, and according to the Bemba system of land tenure, any commoner can hunt anywhere in his chief's *icalo* provided he is prepared to give tribute,[1] and except in the case of elephants there are no individual prerogatives over game based on supernatural powers as is the case with the fishermen headmen described. The chief methods of hunting are as follows:

224 776 (*a*) *Net-hunting* (*ukusoa*). This is one of the few communal activities of the Bemba and all the male members of the village usually take part in it. It is reputed to be the oldest method of hunting, and the Bemba places its origin in legendary times. They describe a mythical figure—Kampinda—who was sent by the High God, Lesa, with his wife NaMukonda to teach the old people (*bakalamba*) how to make and use nets. Kampinda is not the spirit of a chief like the other *imipashi*. He just came first (*ukutangila*) to teach the people, just as Lucelenanga, another mythical hero, came to instruct the first doctors in the use of 'medicines'—a fact which seems to indicate that hunting and magic were reckoned the primary arts of this tribe. Small grass shrines are made outside many Bemba villages to Kampinda and his wife, and sometimes also to Mulenga, another hunting deity who is believed to wander up and down in the bush killing game for the people. Any animal found dead in the forest is said to have been struck by Mulenga. These three mythical characters are all spoken of with great affection and no fear. They are often called the *Bafundi*, or expert hunters.

224 787 [791] Net-hunting also provides the oldest and most common form of divination, a preliminary test which can be carried out without the help of a specialist witch-doctor. It is almost invariably used at the present day to decide after the death of a member of a family whether the disaster has been caused by an avenging spirit of the patrilineal or the matrilineal line. If the right words have been spoken at the beginning of the hunt the sex of the animal first killed reveals the secret at once—a female shows that the mother's side is responsible, a male the father's. The method of hunting

[1] Not often exacted nowadays, except in the case of natives who live at the capital (cf. pp. 254).

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224 787 is the same as in the case of an ordinary hunt. The ritual variety is called *ukusoe libanda*, 'to drive evil spirits', and the former *ukusoafye*, 'just to drive'. The test can also be used to determine the guilt of a reputed witch or wizard. Again the words spoken, usually in secret in this case, when blessing the nets, convert the activity into a magic rite. A male animal killed means that *ubuloshi*, sorcery, is abroad.[1] Ritual hunts are also performed in some districts to test the probable prosperity of a new village site, and in this case a female animal is thought to bring luck.

The method of hunting is simple. The headman announces the expedition overnight, and early in the morning each man brings his own length of net (about 21 inches wide and 80 feet long) with a set of sharpened stakes forked at one end to support the top of the net. The nets are then stretched across the bush end to end to make a line some 600 feet long. Each owner stands behind his own net, concealed, if possible, by a tree. The children of the village are then sent out about a quarter of a mile into the bush to beat the game into the nets with boughs and staves. Any small buck which dashes into the net is hit on the head with an axe-handle or else speared. After the first drive the children make a detour and beat the bush on the opposite side of the net. The nets are then moved, and two or three drives of this sort may take place in a day. The whole performance takes place on a very small scale —five or six men are enough to conduct a net-hunt and big communal *battues* of game such as are described in South Africa do not take place, to my knowledge. Net-hunting is restricted to a definite season—the hot weather, after the bush has been burnt.

224 The rules governing the ownership of the meat are precise. The man who kills the buck has the right to the animal, but he gives a leg to the beater who first started the game. But in any case all the men of the village share in the meat meal, and usually eat it together. If there has been unusual success, such as the killing of five or six duiker in one day, the heads of the animals are cooked ritually at Kampinda's shrine. Hence the three clay cooking-stands often found near these small *nfuba*. In this case the wife of the headman cooks the meat and provides the porridge to eat with it, and the men and the children of the village eat together and dance and sing on the spot. I never saw this rite, but was told that it is still carried out in the Chinsali district at any rate.

[1] As also that animal of ill omen, the bush-buck—or *icisongo*.

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This magician led out his followers when either he or the chief had 'dreamed elephants', after sleeping with their wives with special magic horns placed under the head of the bed. The party was blessed by the chief before leaving, and the *icibinda* carried his magic basket (*icipeshi*), containing charms and pumpkins cut up in small pieces, with him. He also prayed for the blessing of the spirits before the hunt and carried out the necessary magic ceremonies, both before the adventure began and after the animal was killed. Magic assumes a dominant role in this dangerous form of hunting, and both economic leadership and prerogative lies with the man who possesses the required charms. As in the case of fishing specialists, there is a balance of interest between the rights of the chief and those of the *icibinda*. The chief owned the elephants in his district, but he was absolutely dependent for ivory on his specialist elephant hunters with their magic powers.

An elephant hunt sometimes lasted two or three months and the people engaged on them, largely near relatives of the *icibinda*, seem to have been considered as almost specialists. When the hunt was lucky, the tusks of the elephant belonged to the chief, but the meat was divided according to special rule. I have heard it said that the heart, neck, hind legs, and intestines went to the magician, the front legs to the man who first struck the elephant, the back to the man who struck the second, and the chest to the hunter who was the third to wound the animal. Another informant told me that the leg, the liver, the heart, and the brain went to the chief, one front leg to the *icibinda*, and the others to the hunter who wounded the beast. One hundred hairs from the elephant's tail also had to be given to the chief.

Nowadays a few native elephant hunters go out as individuals at the behest of the Government or a chief. They own their own magic and win a high reputation in the community. It seems that a larger proportion of the meat now goes to the chief of the district, who no longer is able to keep the ivory for himself.

Besides the specialist magic of the *icibinda*, elephant charms are complex and of multiple forms. Charms to bring luck to the hunter are sold at high prices (£1 to £5). Sympathetic magic such as the spiking of the dung of the elephant to prevent him moving, or knotting grass across his path to stop his escape is common. Women can affect the fortunes of their hunting husbands by their fidelity or the reverse. Men who kill elephants must be purified

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Men who Kill elephants must be purified

224 by special medicines (*umufinsa*, *umusaka*, *katumbi*, *kaloyansofu*, *umwenge*, &c.), and medicines are also placed on the head of the dead animal to prevent its *icibanda* returning to make the hunter mad. [783] Further dangers await the man who sees the nerve of an elephant tusk before killing three elephants, and by this means becomes impotent. Such multifarious beliefs and rites could only be analysed properly in a treatise on Bantu magic, but they reflect the intense excitement of the people in the elephant hunt and all that pertains to it.

To conclude, hunting is the romance and delight of Bemba life, not a simple food-producing activity or even a very efficient one. The native hunts for food, but he hunts whether he gets game or not. Like other products of the bush, the supply of meat depends, in Bemba eyes, on the blessing of the spirits secured through the chief and hence it is subject to tribute, but the amount obtained is not sufficiently large for the development of complicated rights of economic ownership. Specialist hunters of the larger game existed, but few are still to be found. More magic surrounds the different forms of hunting than any other economic pursuit.

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bufumu ico mfumu ilelalapo). The whole of this conception must be considered against the background of the people's belief in the supernatural powers of their chiefs, and the influence of his sexual capacities on the fertility of the land.[1]

(*c*) *The purification of the priest.* Since sex intercourse makes it impossible to approach the *imipashi* or to enter their shrines, the ritual purification of the officiating priest and his wife, after the blessing of the axe or seeds, is an essential act in each economic rite. It is one which is performed before every solemn prayer or sacrifice to the *imipashi*, before the founding of a new village, an inheritance ceremony, a death or the birth of twins, &c., either by the chief, the headman, or the commoner, as the case may be. In the case of a commoner or an ordinary headman, this rite of purification (*ukuwamya umubili*) is simple. The morning after the sexual act, the couple set on the fire the woman's marriage pot—a tiny clay pot made for her by her paternal aunt on her marriage—and they heat water in it. This the wife then pours over her husband's hands. Both then bathe in the river and return to the village, after which new fire must be lighted in the hut. Sex taboos are kept by the pair until the ceremony in question is over. In the case of the chief, and particularly the Citimukulu, this rite is, however, exceedingly complex. It involves the simultaneous ritual intercourse of the chief and the 'wife of the land' (*umukolo ua calo*), and the Cimba and the Cikutwe with their respective head wives in huts built specially for the purpose. Afterwards twelve or fifteen of the *bakabilo* must assist, each with his own hereditary part, in the purification ceremony and the lighting of the new fire. Without purifying his body the chief can never enter his *benye* house or use his powers over the land to the full, but the complication and expense of a rite which requires the simultaneous presence of so many officials is one of the reasons why the full ceremonial of tree-cutting or first-fruits described later is so rarely performed nowadays, when chiefs are impoverished and cannot always command the loyalty of their *bakabilo*.

(*d*) *The divination rite.* Except in the case of first-fruit rites, each ceremony, whether tree-cutting or blessing of seeds, is followed by some act of divination in which the intentions of the *imipashi* are revealed to their descendants. Here the element of individual doubt and uncertainty is apparent again. There are

[1] Cf. p. 249.

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several methods of divination used. The blessing of the object is itself a preliminary test of the kind since the dreams of the officiating priest as he lies, with the axe or the seeds at the head of his bed, are taken as omens. 'When you have fallen asleep the *imipashi* come to you and you dream good things. If you dream bad things you will not succeed.'[1] The dreams of a chief on this or other occasions are very important for the land. But additional divination rites are sometimes added, particularly in the case of tree-cutting. Hunting ordeals commonly follow the tree-cutting ceremonies, especially in Bisa country, and Citimukulu sent out a man with a gun and a couple of cartridges to try the luck of the land after his *ukutema* ceremony in 1934. The people are delighted and unusually sure of success if a female animal is killed, and say, 'We have found a grindstone' (*twasange libwe*), while if a male animal is killed, that is nearly as good an omen and is described as finding an axe (the man's food-producing implement). If no animal is seen at the nets then the tree-cutting goes on, but without the same hopes of good fortune. 'We go to try to see if we are going to work well' is a typical description of the procedure, and the whole use of the divination rite reflects the anxieties and hazards of traditional agricultural processes already described.

The Economic Cycle.

This analysis of the main elements of the Bemba agricultural ritual must lead to a description of the individual ceremonies and the extent to which they were still performed:

(*a*) *The tree-cutting rite.* In old-fashioned villages the headman performs the tree-cutting ceremony with all the inhabitants of the village accompanying him. In modern communities he tends to do the rite alone, or with his near relatives only, while the rest rely on such magic charms as they possess for their protection, and are described as 'cutting trees anyhow' (*cikomekome*). The older form of the rite will be described, since it is still performed in however abbreviated a version in the majority of Bemba communities. In such settlements the headman, when he has decided to begin the clearing of the bush and fixed the site of his garden, calls the elders of the village and his own immediate relatives to

[1] *Nga mulala mipashi isuma iaisa, mwalota fisuma. Mulote ifishiweme, fishilungama.* (Bad dreams are those concerning snakes, lions, fire, &c.)

The former make millet gardens on such land as is clear of water and subsequently plant mounded cassava. Such a two-year sequence may be continued for several years, but many groups abandon cultivation after the first two years. Village gardens are also planted with cassava, and bananas and pineapples are grown. In such gardens, made on low sandbanks denuded of soil by years of cultivation, cassava seldom grows to full maturity owing to the hunger of the cultivators. Some people make an annual migration to the Lunga plain to plant millet, others barter fish for meal. Very little in the way of subsidiary crops is found beyond a little Kaffir corn, some beans and sweet potatoes. In the territory of Chief Kasoma[1] the people make a mass migration to cultivable areas in the dry season, June to November.

The Twa cultivate little, relying mainly on their fishing with which they get meal by trading. A certain amount of cassava cultivation is found here and there.

HUNTING AND FISHING

While every Bemba is a hunter by inclination, present shortage of game prevents this desire from being fully gratified. While Melland[2] records the existence of organized hunters' guilds and specialized hunters among the Kaonde these do not at present exist among the Bemba, although elephant hunters formerly were specialists. Hunting by traps and pits is neither an organized nor a specialized activity. Net hunting demands communal effort and is often carried out as a form of divination. There is little information on the hunting activities of the other groups; among the swamp peoples (Unga, Twa, Bisa) hunting is subordinated to fishing but the meat of a certain antelope (*lechwe*) was greatly in demand and these animals were hunted so persistently that a protection law has only prevented, recently, their extinction. There was a certain amount of trade in *lechwe* skins worked in designs.

Fishing is not a major activity, though fish is greatly appreciated as a relish and caught whenever possible. There is no regular trade in fish, nor is fishing a whole-time occupation except for certain groups living on the banks of the larger rivers, where there are definite fishing villages with permanent sites where fishing is carried on all the year round, and there is quite a complex system of pond and weir ownership.

Fish are caught by three chief methods: by poisoning, by weirs and by nets. Poisoning is a communal and unskilled activity carried out at the end of the dry season (August-November). Weirs are only in use in November and December before the crocodiles become a menace. Only one type of net is used, a rectangular variety, stretched across the river, at the beginning and end of the dry season.

It is among the swamp peoples, however - the Unga, Twa and, to a lesser extent, the Bisa - that fishing attains greatest importance. Here the land resources are so depleted, by the over-cultivation of areas which are diminishing in size through increasing inundation, that the growing population

(1) Brelsford, S, 1946. (2) Melland, 1923.

769 Spirits are also worshipped, as has been mentioned, at the chiefs'
778 relic huts, at the sites of dead chiefs' villages, which are revered as spirit centres, and at remarkable natural objects such as caves and waterfalls (*ngulu*) which are also thought to be spirit centres. Major chiefs are buried in a sacred grove guarded with great care by a priest, the
[782] *shimwalule*. This is the home of the most powerful tribal spirits and an animal used to be sacrificed here on the rare occasions when drought was
● [787] threatened. The spirits of the chiefs also manifest themselves in the presence of possessed men and women who prophesy and heal. Ancestral spirits are approached by the man or woman who has succeeded to their name and guardian spirit, that is to say, the head of a small local lineage, a headman or a chief.

769 Ancestral spirits are addressed after a ritual sex act between the
782 officiant and his wife, followed by ceremonial purification. The spirits
783 are addressed by name and some form of sacrifice, e.g. beer, cloth, flour and chickens, is offered to them.

(c) MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

789 Bemba and Bisa believe in the potency of *bwanga* which may be translated as "magic". Bemba magical rites depend for the most part on medicine (*muti*), usually part of a plant or tree, sometimes with the addition of energizing charms giving potency to the medicine. Words are sometimes used but, as with the Azande, there is less insistence on and less importance attached to the spell than to the rite and the medicines. It is the magician (*Ng'anga*) who procures and uses the medicine and from whom it may be purchased. To ensure effectiveness the *Ng'anga* must invoke *Lesa*, without whose consent the medicines are thought to be ineffectual.

Magic is used for general protective purposes - to ensure fertility, good health and luck, to give staying power to food. In the economic sphere magic seems to be used less among the Bemba than the Bisa. Richards suggests that the greater development of the ancestral cult among the former is the reason for this.(1)

754 Magic is also used in divination. The commonest form of divination
787 is the rubbing of an axe over a skin until it sticks in answer to a question, and boiling of medicine in a pot until the mixture bubbles over one side or the other side. Another characteristic form of Bemba divination is the hunting ritual used to ascertain the cause of a person's death, according to whether a male or female animal is first driven into the hunting nets. This rite can be used as a preliminary test for witchcraft. In the old days the *lilemfia*, or war fetish, originally obtained from the Lunda chiefs near Lake Mweru was employed. This was a horn placed on a spike which was
[278] thought only to work if smeared with the blood of a human victim. *Mwafi*, the poison used as a test for witchcraft from the Southern Sudan to Southern Rhodesia, was used by the senior chiefs in this area.

754 Evil magic, or sorcery, was distinguished as *buloshi*, a term which covers witchcraft, in the sense of inborn power, as well as the manipulation

(1) Richards, 6, 1939, pp.356, 187.

791 778 The *ng'anga* (magicians) of whose activity little is known, dwelt in a banana grove just south of the capital which no outsiders could enter on pain of death.(1)

782 789 787 [726] Human sacrifices were made at the capital.(2) Victims were prisoners of war and, failing them, the Kazembe's own subjects. Human blood, hearts and entrails are mentioned among the ingredients of which medicines were made.(3) Horns containing medicine were supposed to give protection from witchcraft. Before any hazardous enterprise - war, hunting, travel - was undertaken, an oracle was consulted(4) and, if prospects looked auspicious, a medicine was prepared.(5)

264 643 787 The Kazembe was said to receive warnings of hostile machinations in dreams. If he dreamt of someone more than once this was a sign that the man was plotting against him and must be put to death.(6) Crawford was informed that the Kazembe was ritually insulted during his meals, and he describes this in some detail.(7) "The king eats in a mysterious mode called *kapoalo*... The 'old doctors' cursed him while he ate, his face veiled: 'Kazembe should die! He is no man! A beast! Kill the beast, oh! son of Temena (his mother's name)' ". The *mondo* was sounded to let people know that Kazembe was having his meal, and no one else was allowed to eat at the same time.

834 783 Ritual cleansing is prescribed after sexual intercourse. A man who kills a lion has to be washed in *nshipa* medicine by the headman before he can enter the village, and may not eat or speak till this has been done.

226 789 [784] [834] A wealth of ritual attached to fishing. Ritual authority was vested in the Shila "owners of the land".(8) The ceremony of *ukufungule sabi* (unlocking the fish) was performed annually towards the middle of the dry season on all the waters except the Luapula which "belongs to God". Bits of medicine were attached to the nets in order to ensure a good catch and prevent the nets from being torn. Charms were worn by fishermen or suspended at the bows to protect the canoe from being capsized by hippo or crocodiles. When the canoe was first launched the women sprinkled it with a little cassava flour to ensure plentiful catches. A women, particularly when carrying a child, was forbidden to step over a net. Sexual relations were tabooed when the fish were being poisoned. Lake Mweru was apparently never crossed south of Kilwa island, according to Livingstone.(9) At the "cursing" ceremony on Lake Mweru the dead men drowned in the lake were called by name and reprimanded.(10) Those who came safe ashore after their boats had foundered were greeted with a deliverance song and led in a thanksgiving procession.(11)

(1) Gamitto, I, p.358.
(2) Pereira puts the number of human victims at twenty a day (Livingstone, I, p.265). This is probably no more trustworthy than is his statement that Kazembe's army numbered 20,000 trained soldiers. R.J. Moore discusses human sacrifices as if at the time he wrote (1937) they were still common and an essential part of the salt-making ritual. The victim, according to him, is "nowadays usually a child".
(3) Burton, p.126.
(4) ibid., p.228.
(5) ibid., p.128.
(6) Livingstone, I, p.277.
(7) Crawford, 2, p.104.
(8) Livingstone, op.cit., p.252.
(9) op.cit., p.269.
(10) Crawford, op.cit., p.105.
(11) ibid., pp.105-6.

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

624 'feed his people' and actually does so if they are in need, besides dispensing hospitality to strangers.

[778] The head of the village acts as its ritual head. In the old days, he put up one village shrine to his own ancestors and one or more others to the dead chiefs of the land. This is still done in out-of-

[782] the-way parts of the country and in most places, I think, prayers are offered to these tutelary deities, whether shrines are built to them or no. The headman, like the chief, also influences the life of

[833] the community through his own person. He must 'warm the bush' (*ukukafye mpanga*) by an act of ritual intercourse with his

[788] wife before the huts of a new village are occupied. He blesses seeds for sowing, axes for tree-cutting, and first-fruits. His fire stands for the life of the community as a whole and must be ritually lighted when occasion demands. He presides over the

● [787 special divination rites connected with village activities, such as 788] the founding of a new community or the death of a member, and blesses new babies or individuals who are sick.

In the political hierarchy, the headman has his definite place. No Bemba may cultivate land except as a member of a village group, and the headman is responsible for organizing the supply of tribute and labour which must be paid to a chief by the community as a whole. He accompanies his villagers to court when they have cases to present and often speaks for them. He transmits the orders of a chief to his people and nowadays those of the Government.

[602] His prerogatives are few in number. As head of a kinship-group, he can command personal service from his younger relatives and should be able to exact one day's work from his people on the first day of tree-cutting and sowing. He is always given tribute of beer or meat. But probably, apart from these few economic privileges, the Bemba headman values most his position of authority, his small following, and the favour of his chief.

The sanctions for his authority nowadays are mainly his popularity, together with the strength of kinship feeling, and the belief of the Bemba that it is dangerous to allow an older relative to die

[789] injured. His supernatural powers were a source of strength in the old days, but to a very small extent now, and it must be admitted that the forces which keep a village together are not very strong. It is a constant fear to a headman that his people will melt away.

622 (*b*) *The Chief*. The functions of the different types of chief

9: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1935 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

man, where it would be found sticking upright on the mound in the morning full of grave-earth, and hence the injured spirit of the dead.

Some of the other objects the natives condemned in spite of all evidence of common sense, so much had they made up their minds already as to the horrors they expected to find. The parietal bone of a monkey recently shot in a garden raid was sworn to be that of a baby. The skull of a vulture with its characteristic beak was identified as an owl by natives who are good naturalists, since sorcerers are known to prowl at night with owl-like birds (*ntitimufi*) to steal grain from the granaries of others. A polished bit of wood was dubbed the wrist-bone of a lion by one of the best-known hunters in the district. Lastly, the two horns which raised the greatest outcry were *fimango*, or horns specially prepared by the *nganga* of a chief in old days to lay the spirits of sorcerers burnt after death by the *mwafi* poison ordeal; that is to say, horns which are specially made to protect people against witchcraft. These objects, filled with medicines to attract evil spirits, the ends netted in and covered with red dye and black beads for the same purpose, acted, as it were, as lightning conductors, kept outside a chief's village to attract the evil spirits to the ground. *Fimango* were also used in the most important form of divination known as '*kutinta*' practised by the *nganga* of the chief. The main protection of the native against witchcraft in the old days was therefore cheerfully discarded on the heap at the bidding of a couple of quacks! In fact the *Bamucapi* depended a good deal for their effects on the ignorance of the young of the use of Bemba magic. Their own ignorance on the subject, and their lack of knowledge of the language, was of no account, since they defended the throwing away of a charm admittedly harmless by declaring it contained a *cifimba* unseen to the ordinary man.

Our examination of a typical heap of horns has therefore shown us that only 11 out of 135 horns were admitted by every one to be undeniably bad destructive magic, that is to say, prepared for the injury of others. For the rest, 2 were actually protective magic intended to save the whole community against witchcraft, while the majority were containers of medicine, some curative, and some mere charms for success, dangerous only in so far as success could be considered to be obtained at the expense of others. It would appear thus to be part of the skill of the *Bamucapi* to create the sense of danger from which they

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feature. Punishment is only inflicted by the supernatural power when it is deserved. The religious dogma follows strictly the tribal morality and gives it its sanction. It stresses particularly that basic sentiment of Bemba society—the attitude of a man to authority in general and in particular to his chief. *Mipaʃi* are injured if not given proper respect, while the whole land suffers if the chief defaults. So also in the case of the avenging *ciwa*, it is the failure to honour and stand by your relations which is punished, the typical case always given being that of the old mother who dies of starvation and neglect. Here again the *ciwa* may not even return and haunt the living without the permission of Lesa, the High-God, and only a spirit suffering under a legitimate grievance is allowed to avenge. The curse by the name of a dead chief will only light on the real offender.

To sum up, according to Bemba dogma most misfortune is believed to be due to wrong-doing, and in particular transgression of the rules of respect to authority. The cause of the disaster can be ascertained by divination, itself a mechanism socially approved and carried out by a reputable character, the *yanga*. The remedy can be procured by the purchase of medicine, by the performance of a laborious rite, and perhaps, most important of all, by the public admission of guilt.

In this apparently logical and orderly system there is, according to theory, only one incalculable element—the sorcerer (*muloʃi*) who kills without rhyme or reason, for the sake of doing harm. The *baloʃi* are enemies of society and running counter to its laws. They actually start their careers of crime by committing some outrageous act, such as father-daughter incest, or the murder of a baby of their own clan. They have various mythical attributes. They can make themselves invisible; kill at a distance; send magic birds to steal food from their enemies; and of course perform secret rites and possess and sell evil medicines. Now it is obvious that such sorcerers are actually non-existent, though their mythical attributes are readily credited to unpopular people of dour or difficult temperaments, bad mixers in the American sense, bad sharers, or persons who seem to be winning unusual success at others' expense. I would not be bold enough to say that no rites of evil magic are performed in Bemba country, or that there do not exist here and there individuals who believe themselves to possess such powers. But it is the reflection of the *buloʃi* belief in

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Survival after Death among the Ba-Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia. *By The Rev. H. Barnes.* 26

One is familiar with the idea that such immortality, or rather survival, as forms part of the belief of the Bantu is only limited, and that there is probably no idea of immortality or indefinite survival. A curious belief and practice illustrating and confirming this came to my notice lately here in N. E. Rhodesia, among the Ba-Bemba. I was making inquiry of some Christian teachers of quite limited education as to the significance of the word "*mupashi*," which is sometimes used in translation into Chi-Bemba to render the English "spirit" or the Greek πνεῦμα. I was told that "*mupashi*" means the disembodied spirit that parts from the body at death, but that it would be wrong to speak of the spirit of a living person as "*mupashi*" or to apply the word to any spiritual being that had never been embodied. Also it would not be the right word to use in such phrases as "giving up the ghost," "commending the spirit." In these latter phrases the word "*moo*," connoting rather the vital spark, and not anything personal or individual, would appear to be appropriate.

The "*mupashi*," when it leaves the body, goes far and near, seeking among people of the same clan as the person from whom it has come, until it finds a newborn babe as yet unnamed. The *mupashi* suffers under the disadvantage of being invisible and incapable of producing audible sounds, and in these parts it has not yet learnt to communicate by means of tables or planchette. It must find a medium who will be able to interpret its wishes and convey them to the right address. But what is its message and how does it attract attention? Its desire is to secure the transmission of the name borne by its last owner, so that that name may not die out and with it the memory of its holder and the existence of the *mupashi*. The *mupashi* is thus seen to be struggling for its own survival. It calls attention to itself and its desire by making the newborn babe of its family cry and cry until its parents in despair send for the *sing'anga* or diviner. The *sing'anga* is able to understand and communicate with the *mupashi*, but almost as awkwardly as our own table turners

* Thurston, "Tribes and Castes of Southern India, 1909"; Iyer, "Cochin Tribes and Castes," 1909; Nanjunadayya, "Ethnographic Survey of Mysore."

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775 787 553 He is quick to know that the child's crying is caused by the *mupashi* who wants to confer a name, but he can only find out which name the *mupashi* is interested in by going over the names of the great men of the family. The name may be that of a quite remote ancestor, although the *mupashi* is but recently freed. The process of carrying on the name may have begun long ago in the interest of some specially memorable man or woman. The child, by the way, may be of either sex. The *mupashi* will indicate that the right name has been pronounced by leaving the babe in peace. When the babe ceases to cry at one of the names offered, the *sing'anga* announces that the child is to bear that name, and the mothers see to it that it is so. If all the bearers of a name so conferred die out, the name is forgotten, the ancestor no longer survives even as a *mupashi*, and a full stop is reached in that chain.

The new-born child is always or usually named in this way. In the case of twins [845] the first-born will have a name so given, but the second will be called simply "Twin," "Punda."

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